

THE 1078 1/2 19 2

LIFE AND ADVENTURES

O F

Sir William Wallace,

GENERAL AND GOVERNOR OF SCOTLAND.

C O N T A I N I N G,

A particular account of his most remarkable Battles with King Edward (Longshanks); And of his mournful fate at London, after he was betrayed into the hands of the English; Where he was put to death, and his body quartered and sent to different towns in Scotland.

W I T H

An account of the Battle of Bannockburn, which was fought June 24th, 1314.



G L A S G O W,

PRINTED BY J. AND M. ROBERTSON

M D C C X C I.



History of Sir William Wallace.

THE history of Sir WILLIAM WALLACE, with the other of the valiant King ROBERT BRUCE, which followeth upon the end of it, and of which this is an abridgement, was written in Latin by Mr John Blair, chaplain to Wallace, and turned into Scots metre by one called blind Harry, in the days of King James IV. and the history of Bruce was written by Mr John Barbour, archdean of Aberdeen, a learned man in the days of King David Bruce and Robert Stewart, and both together contain a relation of the most famous war that ever fell out in the isle of Britain, fought most valiantly for the space of 40 years, betwixt the two realms of Scotland and England; the one unjustly pursuing, the other constantly defending the liberties of their country. During which broils, there happened great alterations, both in the general state of this kingdom, and in the overthrow and advancement of particular families, the one for betraying, the other for maintaining their country's freedom and welfare.

That the whole history may be more clear, we have thought good, in a short introduction, to set down the causes, occasions, and the most memorable passages of this war. In the year 1285, Alexander the III. king of Scotland, being suddenly taken away, by a fall from his horse, at Kinghorn, without any issue of his body, and in him the whole posterity of his father Alexander II. and grandfather William the Lyon, being extinct, the right of the crown fell to the heirs of David Earl of Huntington and Garioch, youngest brother to William the Lyon. He had left three daughters, the eldest Margarett, married to Allan Lord of Galloway; the second Isabel, to Robert Bruce, (surnamed the noble,) Lord of Annandale and Cleveland; the youngest Ada, married Henry Hastings, an Englishman; who having no just title to the crown, the contention rested betwixt the posterity of the two elder daughters; for Allan, Lord of Galloway, leaving no sons by his wife Margarett; his eldest daughter Dornagilla of Galloway, married John Baliol, a man of great power and lands both in Scotland, England and France, and bare to him

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John Baliol afterwards King. Robert Bruce, by his wife Isabel of Huntington, had Robert Bruce, who came to be Earl of Carrick, by marrying Martha heretrix thereof, and who contended with John Baliol, and died in the time of Wallace's wars. His eldest son, Robert Bruce, succeeded King of Scotland.

Dornagilla of Galloway claimed the crown, as heir to Margaret eldest daughter to Prince David. Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, albeit son to Isabel the second daughter, yet, contended that in feudal succession, the first male ought to succeed before a woman standing in the same degree, as a son excludeth his sister from succession, altho' she be elder; and therefore he and Dornagilla of Galloway, standing in the second degree from Prince David, he ought to be preferred to her: as for her son, John Baliol, he could claim no right but by her, and likewise was a degree further off from Prince David. The like practice had fallen out some ten years before, in Hugh the fourth Duke of Burgundy, whose eldest son Hugh, (dying before his father) left a daughter Jola, Countess of Nevers, who claimed to succeed her grand-father Hugh IV. Notwithstanding Robert, second son to the same Hugh IV. was preferred to her, and succeeded the Duke of Burgundy: if then the second son in feudal inheritance succeed before the eldest son's daughter, far more ought the nephew to succeed before the niece. The right of succession being thus made doubtful, the competitors were so powerful, that they drew the greatest part of the kingdom in two equal factions; so that it seemed impossible to settle the controversy at home, without running into a pernicious civil war.

The states of Scotland, to prevent this mischief, thought it fittest to submit the arbitrament of the plea to Edward I. surnamed Long Shanks, king of England, and that upon divers weighty reasons: for he and his father King Henry III. being joined by many alliances, of bands and friendship to the two last kings of Scotland, had lived in great amity and concord with them, receiving and interchanging many favours and kind duties. The two competitors also, Bruce and Baliol, had as great lands in England as in Scotland, so that he, and he only, was able to make them stand to reason. Fl-

nally, the states of Scotland not being able to determine the plea, there was no prince besides more powerful, and, in appearance, more like to compose the controversy, without great bloodshed. This motion was in secret very greedily embraced by King Edward, hoping, in so troublesome a war, to find a gainful fishing, either by drawing the kingdom of Scotland under his direct subjection, or at least under his homage, as lord paramount and superior: considering the difficulty to determine the question at home, and the interest he had in both parties, being (for a great part of their estates,) his vassals and subjects; his great power also, having (besides Ireland) a great part of France under his dominion, and the low countries his assured confederates gave him great encouragement; neither wanted he great friendship in Scotland, having at that time many of the greatest noblemen in Scotland, vassals and feudaries to himself for many lands which they held in England, partly for great services done to himself and his father, partly lying within Northumberland, and the border shires, then held by the Scots in fee of England: partly also by interchange of marriage and successions betwixt the two nations, which for a long time had lived in great amity, as if it had been one kingdom. And to make the controversy more fearful, he stirred up other eight competitors besides Bruce and Baliol, Florence Earl of Holland (descended of Ada, sister to William the Lyon; Patrick Dumbart Earl of March; Sir Walter Ross; Sir Nicholas Soules; Sir Roger Mandeville; Sir John Cumming of Badenoch, (these five were descended of younger daughters of Allan, Lord of Galloway,) Sir William Viscie, begotten upon King Alexander III's bastard daughter, but pretended to be legitimate; and John Hastings Lord Abergavenny, descended of Ada, youngest daughter to prince David of Huntingdon.

Having thus prepared matters, he came to Berwick, and met with the States of Scotland, to whom he promised to decide the controversy according to equity; and that it might seem more likely, he brought from France sundry of the most famous lawyers of that age; he chose also out of the States of Scotland assembled, twelve of the wisest and most honourable, to

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whom he joined the like number of English, as assessors to him in his arbitrament. At this meeting, by the doubtful answers of lawyers, and the number of new precedents, he made the matter more difficult, and appointed a new convention at Norham, on the border, in the year following.

Difficulties thus increasing, and the Earl of Holland having on foot a great army, to take the crown of Scotland by force, (which their own stories affirm, to have landed in Scotland, and to have intercepted some strengths) at the meeting of Norham, King Edward dealt secretly, and by fit agents, with the States of Scotland, for shunning imminent dangers, to become his subjects; he, being descended of King David's sister and so but two degrees further from the crown of Scotland than Bruce or Baliol were. This being flatly refused by all, he betook him to his other design. And first dealt secretly with Robert Bruce, promising to discern in his favours, if he would take the crown of Scotland holden of him, and do him homage for it. But he stoutly refused to subject a free nation to any overt lord; whereupon King Edward called for John Baliol, who, knowing that he was not so much favoured of the States of Scotland, easily condescended to King Edward's desire, and was by him declared King of Scotland: the States, desirous of peace, conveyed him to Scoon, where he was crowned, anno 1291, and all except Bruce, swore obedience to him. Thereafter Duncan Macduff, earl of Fife, was killed by Lord Abernethy, (a man of great power in those times, allied both with the Cummings and Baliol;) the Earl's brother, finding the King partial in the administration of justice, summoned him to compare before the King of England in parliament; where being present, and sitting beside King Edward, (after he had done him homage) when he was called upon, thought to answer by a procurator; but he was forced to rise, and stand at the bar. This indignity grieved him greatly, he resolved to free himself of this bondage. At the same time war breaking out between England and France, King Edward sent ambassadors to the parliament of Scotland to send aid to him, as now being their over-lord. There came also other ambassadors from France, desiring the

ancient league to be renewed. The king and the states of Scotland renewed the league with France which had remained, inviolably kept, for the space of 500 years before. The King of England's suit was rejected, because the pretended surrender and homage was made by John Baliol privately, without the consent of the parliament. A marriage was also concluded betwixt Prince Edward Baliol, and a daughter of Charles, Earl of Valois, brother to the French King Philip. Edward having foreseen all these things, had drawn Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, with his friends, (enemies to Baliol) and divers noblemen of Scotland, who held lands of him in England, to bring such forces as they could make, to assist him in the French war: but without taking truce with the French for some months, he suddenly turned his forces destined against France, towards Scotland. His navy was vanquished at Berwick, and eighteen of his ships taken. Yet his land host, by the means of the Brucian faction, and the Englished-Scots noblemen, took the town of Berwick with great slaughter, and shortly thereafter, Dunbar, Edinburgh and Stirling. In, and about these castles, he had killed and taken captives the greatest part of the Scots noblemen; so that crossing Forth, the blow being so sudden, he found no preparation for resistance. Baliol surrendered himself to King Edward at Montrose, and was sent by sea into England, where he remained captive till such time as, by intercession of the Pope, he was set at liberty, swearing and giving hostages never to return into Scotland. King Edward came to Scoon, and took upon him the crown of Scotland, as forfeited by the rebellion of his homager Baliol. He sent for the nobles of Scotland who remained, that they, with such as were his captives, might swear homage to him as to their liege Lord and King, those who refused, were detained prisoners.

King Edward, thinking that now all was sure for him in Scotland, left John Plantagenet, (some call him Warran) Earl of Surrey, and Sir Hugh Cressingham treasurer, and returned to prosecute the French war, taking such of the nobility of Scotland as he feared, along with him, with their followers. The great men of Scotland, being in this manner either imprisoned by

King Edward, or sworn to his obedience, and tied thereto by reason of the lands holden of the crown of England, the rest either fled into the isles or highlands or thought it sufficient to defend their own till better times.

But while men of power neglected the public cause of the liberty of Scotland, William Wallace, a youth of honourable birth, being son to Malcom Wallace of Elderslie, but of mean power, having first in private killed many Englishmen of the garrisons as he could overtake them, by these exploits, became so encouraged, (being a man of invincible hardiness, incredible strength of body, and withal very wise and circumspect) that he gathered his friends and neighbours, and by jeopardies and stratagems, divers times cut off great numbers of the enemy; the report thereof drew to him such as affected the liberty and welfare of their country, and had courage to hazard themselves for vindicating thereof. As namely the Earl Malcolm Lennox, the Lord William Douglas (who had been taken captive at the winning of Berwick, whereof he was captain, and sent home upon assurance) Sir John Graham, Sir Neil Campbell, Sir Christopher Seaton, Sir John Ramsay, Sir Fergus Barclay, Andrew Murray, William Oliphant, Hugh Hay, Robert Boyd, John Johnston, Adam Gordon, Robert Keith, Ronald Crawford younger, Adam Wallace, Rodger Kilpatrick, Simon and Alexander Frazers, James Crawford, Robert Lauder, Scrimiger, Alexander Auchinleck, Ruthven, Richard Lundie, William Crawford, Arthur Bisset, James and Robert Lindsay, John Cleland, William Ker, Edward Little, Robert Rutherford, Thomas Halliday, John Tinto, Walter Newbigging, Gerdan Baird, Guthries, Adam Currie, Hugh Dundas, John Scot, Steven Ireland, Mr. John Blair, Mr. Thomas Gray, and other gentlemen, With their friends and servants; who, after some valiant exploits happily atchieved, and an army of ten thousand men led by Thomas Earl of Lancaster to the Earl of Warren, defeated by Wallace at Bigger (holding an Assembly at the Forest Kirk) chose Wallace to be warden of Scotland, and viceroy in Baliol's absence. In which office he so valiantly behaved himself, that in a short space he recovered all the strengths on the bor-

ders, and brought the south part of Scotland to good quiet.

The English, fearing the loss of all, subtilly took truce with Wallace for one year, beginning in February. In June following they proclaimed a Justice eyre to be held at Glasgow and Ayr, the 18 of that month, thinking to intrap Wallace and all his friends, and under colour of law, to cut them off at the day appointed. All landed men according to the custom, assembling to this court, the English condemned them for felony, and hanged them presently; amongst the rest, Sir Ronald Crawford, Sheriff of Ayr, uncle to Wallace, Sir Bryce Blair, Sir Neil Montgomery, and many of the barons of Kyle, Cunningham, Carrick, and Clydsdale. Those who escaped by flight advertised Wallace, who chanced to come later than the rest. He, assembling such of the country, as (detesting so horrible a fact) extremely hated the authors thereof, in the beginning of the night secretly entered into Ayr, set fire to the place where the Englishmen, after that fact, were securely sleeping, and suffered none to escape. The garrison of the castle issuing forth to quench the fire, an ambush laid for the purpose, entered the house, and made it sure. The next morning, Wallace came to Glasgow, where the Lord Henry Percy had retired from Ayr the day before; him he expelled thence with great slaughter. The victory he so hotly pursued, that immediately thereafter he took the castle of Stirling, recovered Argyle and Lorn, with the town of St. Johnstoun, and country about; thence he travelled through Angus and Mearns, taking in all the strengths until he came to Aberdeen, which he found forsaken by the English, who had fled by sea, with the Lord Henry Beaumont, an English Lord, who had married the heretrix of the Earldom of Buchan, named Cumming. Thus all the north country was reduced to the obedience of Wallace, except the castle of Dundee; while he lay at the siege thereof, news came of the approach of the English army, led by John Earl of Warren and Surry, and Sir Hugh Cressingham, with a great number of Northumberland men and such of the Scots as held with England to the number of thirty thousand. Wallace having with him ten thousand men hardened in arms, met them beside

Stirling, on the north side of the Forth, which having no fords at that place, was passable only by a wooden bridge. This he on purpose had caused to be weakened, so that the one half of the host being past, led by Cressingham, the bridge broke with the great weight of their baggage. Those who were come over, Wallace charged suddenly before they were put in order, and cut the most part in pieces, with their leader Cressingham: the rest seeking to escape, were drowned in the water. The Earl of Warren, and those that escaped, were assailed by Earl Malcom Lennox, captain of Stirling castle, and being hotly pursued by Wallace, hardly escaped himself, flying into Dunbar, a castle then belonging to the Earl of March. In this battle, fought the 13th of September 1297, there died no Scotsman of remark but Andrew Murray of Bothwell. The English garrisons hearing of this discomfiture, fled from all places, so that before the last of September, all the strengths of Scotland were recovered, except Berwick and Roxburgh.

After these victories he held a parliament at St. Johnstoun, as warden of Scotland, and settled the whole country, causing the nobility to swear to be faithful to the State, till such time as they might condescend who should be King: Earl Patrick Dunbar refusing to acknowledge the authority of this parliament, was chased out of Scotland; and because the years by-past the ground had not been manured, and great famine threatened the land, Wallace assembled a great host, and entered England, where he remained all the winter, and the spring following, living upon the enemies' provision, and enriching his soldiers by their spoil; during which time the English durst never encounter him in open field: only at the first entry King Edward, with a great army of raw soldiers, came against him in the plain of Stanmure; but perceiving the discipline and hardy resolution of Wallace's host, before they came nearer than half a mile, drew back his army and retired; Wallace, for fear of ambush, kept his soldiers in order, and pursued them not. Thus King Edward left his country to the mercy of a provoked enemy; and notwithstanding that he promised battle, yet he kept himself close till a peace was concluded for

years, Berwick and Roxburgh being rendered to the Scots.

Scotland thus enjoying perfect liberty, Wallace being earnestly requested by the French King, to the end that his special captains might be kept in military exercise during the peace, sailed over to France, with 50 of them in his company. He was encountered on the way by Thomas of Charters, commonly called (Thomas of Longueville,) who with 16 sail infested the seas: but boarding Wallace's ship, he was taken by him, and therefore fought most valiantly under him and King Robert Bruce, for the liberty of Scotland. After Wallace landed in France, he was employed in war against the English, who at that time possessed the duchy of Guienne and Bourdeaux; then he defeated in sundry skirmishes. But in a few days he was called home by some of his friends in Scotland: for King Edward understanding his absence, and pretending that he had broken the peace in Guienne, dealt with Robert Bruce Earl of Carrick, and his friends, and with such noblemen of Scotland as held lands in England, or envied Wallace's glory, telling that it was a shame for them to suffer Wallace, a mean gentleman, to rule Scotland, while any of the blood royal did remain; so promising his assistance to Robert Bruce, he sent a great army into Scotland, and by the help of the Brucian faction, and Englished noblemen, he easily obtained the greatest strengths of Scotland. Wallace returned the next summer, and secretly amassing a number of his special followers, who had lurked till his back-coming, on a sudden surprised St. Johnstoun by a stratagem; and pursuing his victory hotly, chased the English out of Fife. Upon the report hereof, all the rest of his followers came from their lurking holes, by whose assistance he recovered divers strengths. The Lord William Douglas took the castle of Sanquhar by a stratagem, and finding the English captains of the nearest garrisons coming to besiege him, he sent secretly to Wallace, who coming with his power, not only raised the siege, but chased all the whole English garrisons out of those quarters: from hence he came to the north parts, which he recovered with small difficulty, except the strong

of Dundee, to which he laid siege.

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The King of England, grieved at the fortunate success of Wallace, and understanding that he was highly envied by the Earl of March, the Cummings, (the greatest surname then in Scotland) and divers ancient noblemen, (from whose honour Wallace's renown seemed to derogate) he stirred up Robert Bruce elder, and his faction, persuading them that Wallace was Bruce's only competitor for the crown. Having so made a strong party for himself in Scotland, the next spring he came with an army of forty thousand men, Scots and English, to Falkirk, six miles from Stirling. The Scots army was very great, being thirty thousand strong if they had been all of one mind. For John Cumming Lord of Cumbernauld, (who had an eye to the crown) had persuaded the Lord John Stewart of Bute, being tutor, and grandfather by the mother, to the Lord James Stewart of Renfrew, lately deceased, to contend with Wallace for the leading of the van-guard, alledging the same belonged to the Lord Stewart's house by ancient privilege. Wallace refusing this, they parted one from another in high chaff, there remaining with him no more but ten thousand of his old soldiers. Cumming, with a thousand of his followers, after a small shew of resistance, fled treasonably, leaving the valiant Stewart inclosed by two battalions of the English, by whom, after he had fought valiantly for a long time, he was cut off with all his followers. Wallace with his party defended themselves valiantly, until they were safely retired beyond the river Carron, losing (besides some others) the noble Sir John Graham, the most valiant worthy of Scotland, next unto Wallace. Bruce, whom the King of England had brought with all his friends to the field, pretending to assist him for recovery of his right from the usurper. Bruce perceiving Wallace, on the other side the Carron, desired to speak with him, and upbraided him with so foolish an usurpation of the kingdom of Scotland, against so powerful a faction at home, assisted by so mighty a king abroad. I, answered Wallace, intended never to reign in Scotland, but finding my native country abandoned by you and Baliol, who have the right to the crown, have set myself to defend my friends and neighbours from the unjust tyranny and usurpation of the King of England, who

setteth you forth most unnaturally to tear the bowels of your mother with your own hands. After divers speeches to this purpose, Bruce, perceiving the fraudulent and tyrannous dealing of King Edward, returned to the host. The next morning Wallace understanding that the English army was weakly intrenched, and in great security, amassing with his own army such as had escaped, set upon them in the dawning, before they could be arrayed, and killed many: so that the English King returned at that time without any further exploit. Bruce remembering what he heard of Wallace, desired King Edward, according to his former promises, to put him in possession of so much of the kingdom of Scotland as then was under his power; to whom he answered in the French tongue, 'Have we no more ado but conquer kingdoms for you.' By this speech the Lord Bruce conceived so great grief and anger, that within few days he departed this life, without seeing his eldest son Robert Bruce, afterwards King, he being kept for assurance of his father's obedience in Calais castle in France.

After this unhappy battle, Wallace, striving to recover such castles and strengths as King Edward had intercepted, found such opposition and backwardness, by envious emulators, that he returned to St. Johnstoun, and, in the assembly of the States, resigned his charge of warden, and with 18 men passed again into France, according to a promise at his return therefrom. This fell out at the end of the year 1300. The opposite faction having gained their desire, chose John Cumming governor: the rather because King Edward had promised to assist him to the crown of Scotland. But he found him as great an enemy as he had been to Wallace. For, after seven months truce, obtained by means of the French King, Edward sent Sir Ralph Godfrey with a great army to subdue the Scots, and to put an end to the war, which they expected should be easy, Wallace being now out of the way. John Cumming, joining with the Lord Simon Fraier, making eight or nine thousand men, came to resist the English, who having wasted the country as far as Roslin, about five miles from Edinburgh, expecting no resistance, divided themselves into three parties, that they might spoil

farther into the country. The Scots embracing the occasion, set upon the first division, and easily discomfited them: the second also, albeit stronger by the joining of those who fled, was after a long conflict put to the rout. By this the third division, coming to the revenge, put the Scots to a great strait, as being sorely wounded, wearied, and weakened, in the two former battles, and having to withstand a fresh enemy, of far greater number: hereupon they were forced to kill all the captives, lest they should assist the enemy, and with their weapons to arm the baggage men; and setting forward both with courage and necessity, seeing no escape, after a long and hard fight, they put the enemy to flight. This was march 24th, 1302.

King Edward, fore incensed by this evil success, sent for Robert Bruce younger, out of Calais, whom he persuaded, that he had for a long time, against Wallace, defended his father's right to the crown of Scotland: that having put Wallace out of the way, he found the Cummings as great enemies: Notwithstanding, he intended yet once more to put that enemy out of the way and to settle him in his kingdom. The young prince, believing him, caused all his friends and favourers in Scotland to join with him, and entering the border, spoiled the country and took divers castles as far as Douglas. Some report, that the Lady Douglas, named Ferras, an English woman, betrayed that castle to the Bruce, who took the Lord William Douglas captive, with all his children and goods. The Lord himself was kept prisoner in Berwick, and thereafter in York, where he died. Mean time, King Edward had prepared a mighty army, both by land and sea, with which he entered Scotland, and subdued all before him while he came to Stirling, kept then by Sir William Oliphant, who after a long siege, knowing of no relief, yielded the castle upon condition that himself and all that were with him, should pass with their lives safe: Notwithstanding King Edward kept still all the noblemen, together with the captain Sir William Oliphant: and such as would not swear homage to him, (pretending to be the protector of Robert Bruce's right) he sent prisoners to London. Having in this castle intercepted divers of John Cumming's friends,

he procured them to draw him to a parley with him: in which he so blinded him with the hopes of the kingdom, and with fear of utter undoing, that he joined himself and his friends to the English; who by this accession, easily passed forward with the course of victory, as far as the utmost bounds of Ross: and in his back coming, carried away with him into England all books, registers, histories, laws and monuments of the kingdom; and among others the fatal marble chair, whereupon the former Scots Kings used to be crowned at Scoon, on which was engraven a prophecy, bearing, 'That wherever this chair should be transported, the Scots should command there.' He carried also with him all the learned men and professors of Scotland, among others the famous Doctor John Duns, surnamed Scotus, thinking hereby to Discourage and effeminate the minds of the Scots, that they should cast off all care of recovering their liberty, the memory thereof being drowned in oblivion. At his return into England, he left his cousin, Sir Aymer de Vallance, Earl of Pembroke, viceroy, having fortified all the castles with strong garrisons.

The Scots, who stood for the liberty of their country, being forsaken by John Cumming, sent earnest letters to France to move Wallace to return. He was then making war upon the English in Guienne; but hearing the mischiefs of his country, he obtained leave of the French King to return: and secretly gathering some of his old friends, recovered divers castles and towns in the north, and having greatly increased his army, besieged St. Johnstoun till it surrendered. But as he proceeded in the course of his victories, he was betrayed by his familiar friend, Sir John Monteith, to Aymer de Vallance, who sent him into England, where, by King Edward's command, he was put to death, and his body quartered; and sent into the principal cities of Scotland, to be set up for a terror to others.

Notwithstanding, this cruelty prevailed little for the assuring of King Edward's conquest; new enemies arising whence he least expected: for as he returned from his last journey into Scotland, John Cumming and Robert Bruce meeting together, after a long conference of the state of their country, perceived, that not-

withstanding he had promised to each of them apart his help to obtain the crown of Scotland, yet his intention was only to use their assistance to conquer and secure it to himself, as he well declared, by spoiling the country of all monuments, public and private. Hereupon they agreed that Cumming should quit all his right to the crown in favours of Bruce, and that Bruce should give him all his lands for his assistance, and this contract was written and sealed by both parties. Upon this Bruce, watching an opportunity to rise in arms, left his wife and children in Scotland, and went to the court of England. After his departure, Cumming (as it is reported) either repenting himself of this agreement, or else endeavouring fraudulently to oppose his co-rival, and so obtain an easier way to the kingdom, reveal'd their secret combination to Edward; and in evidence of it, he sent him the covenant signed by them both. Upon that, Bruce was impleaded as guilty of high-treason; he was forbidden to depart the court, and a privy guard set over him to inspect his words and actions. The King's delay to punish him for a crime so manifest proceeded from a desire he had to take his brethren too, before they had heard any noise of his execution.

Bruce, advertised of his danger by the Earl of Gloucester (some call him the Earl of Montgomery) his old friend, who had sent him a pair of sharp spurs, and some crowns of gold, as if he had borrowed the same, guessing the meaning of this propine, caused by night, shoe three horses backward, and posted away from court with two in his company, and on the fifth day (the way being deep in winter,) arrived at his own castle of Lochmabane, where he found his brother Edward, with Robert Fleming, James Lindsay, Robert Kilpatrick, and Thomas of Charters, who told him how Wallace was betrayed by Sir John Monteith, and the Cumming faction a few days before. Immediately thereafter they intercepted a messenger with letters from Cumming to King Edward, desiring that Bruce should be dispatched in haste, lest (being a nobleman much favoured by the commons) he should raise greater stir. The treachery of John Cumming, before only suspected, was hereby made manifest, which so incensed the Lord Bruce, that riding to Dumfries, and

finding Cumming at the mass of the Gray Friars, after he had shown him his letters, in impatience he stabbed him with his dagger; and others who were about him doing the like, not only dispatched him, but also his cousin Sir Edward Cumming, and others who assisted him. This slaughter fell out on the 9th of February, in the year 1306, as we now account.

The Bruce, thus rid of one enemy, found a great number as it were arising out of his ashes, even the whole puissant name of Cumming, with their allies, the Earl of March, the Lord of Lorn, the Lord of Abernethy, the Lord of Brechin, the Lord Soules, the most part of the north, and all Galloway followed the Cummings; the Earl of March, the Lord William Soules, commanded the Merse, with Berwick and the border; all which they yielded to King Edward, and maintained against Robert Bruce. At the same time his two brothers, Thomas and Alexander Bruce, with Ronald Crawford younger, secretly landing in Galloway, were taken by Duncan Macdougall a great man in Galloway, and sent to King Edward, who caused them all three to be hanged. On the other side, assembled to him, beside these above named, the young Lord James Douglas, (who hearing of his father's death had returned from France, where he was at school, and staid a time with his kinsman, William Lamberton, bishop of St. Andrews,) Earl Malcom Lennox, Earl John of Athol, (although of the Cumming blood, yet being father-in-law to Edward Bruce,) Sir Neil Campbell, Sir Gilbert Hay, Sir Christopher Seaton, Sir Thomas Ronald, Sir Hugh Hay, John Somerville, David Barclay, Alexander and Simon Frazer, Sir Robert Boyd, Sir William Halyburton, with sundry who had stood with Wallace before. With this company he past into Scoon, and took upon him the crown of Scotland in April 1309. After this he gathered an army, minding to besiege St. Johnstoun. But finding his power too weak, he retired to Methven, where he was unexpectedly assaulted and discomfited by Sir Aymer de Vallance, but with small loss of men, except some who were taken, as Randal, Barclay, Frazer, Inchmartine, Somerville, and Sir Hugh Hay, who were constrained to swear homage to King Edward. The commons discouraged with this hard

success, fearing the English, forsook the new King; who had a small company of gentlemen about him, with whom he travelled towards Argyle, meaning to lurk for a time with his brother-in-law Sir Neil Campbell; but he was encountered by the way, by John of Lorn, cousin to John Cumming, and constrained to flee, albeit with small slaughter of his own folk. After this second discomfiture, he sent his Queen, (being daughter to Gratney Earl of Mar,) with his brother Sir Neil Bruce, and John Earl of Athol, to the castle of Kildrimmy, in Mar. The King of England sent his son, Prince Edward, with a mighty host, to besiege this castle. The Queen hearing this, fled to the frith of Tain in Ross: but the Earl of Ross took her, and her daughter, and sent them captives into England. The castle of Kildrimmy was traitorously burnt by one of the garrison: all that were within it taken and hanged, at the command of the English King.

Robert, seeing winter approaching, and finding no retreat in the main Land, retired with his most entire friends, to his old friend Angus, Lord of the Isles; with whom he stayed a short time in Kintyre, and thereafter sailed over into the Isle of Raughline, where he lurked all the winter; every man esteeming him to be dead. The next spring he landed quietly in Carrick, and on a sudden intercepted his own castle of Turnberry. The Lord Piercy flying home out of it to his own country. Sir James Douglas, departing thence secretly, came into Douglas dale, and by means of Thomas Dickson, an old servant of his father's, he recovered his own castle of Douglas, and cast it down once and again; thereafter he returned to King Robert to Cumnock, shewing him that Aymer de Vallance, and John of Lorn, with an army, were coming against him. The King with five hundred valiant men kept themselves in a strong place, waiting while Sir Aymer should invade; but took no heed to John of Lorn, who fetching a compass, set upon his back with eight hundred highlandmen, and had well nigh enclosed them about. The King perceiving the danger, divided his men in three: and appointing where they should meet at night: fled three sundry ways. John of Lorn having a moth-hound, pursued still after the King, who putting away all that were in

his company, save one man, fled into the next wood, and with great difficulty escaped the sloth-hound. Sir Aymer, disappointed of this enterprize, shortly thereafter, with fifteen hundred chosen men, very nigh surprized the King in Glentole-wood: But the King with his men taking courage, resolutely defended the place, which was very strong, and killing divers of the first who assaulted them, the rest fled back. Therefore, with more courage, he went into the fields, reduced Kyle and Cunningham to his obedience, Sir James Douglas also, with threescore men, lying in an ambush at a strait place in Cunningham, called the Netherfoord; where Sir Philip Moubray was passing, with a thousand men against the King, being then in Kyle, killed many of them and put the rest to flight. On the tenth of May following, Sir Aymer, with three thousand men came against the King, then lying in Galdon in Kyle: King Robert hearing of his coming, albeit he exceeded not 600 men, came forth against him, at a place under Loudon-hill, which he so fortified on every hand with dykes and fousies, that the enemy could not inclose him on both sides: and so by the stout and resolute valour of so few, Sir Aymer was put to flight, which he took so sore to heart, that he retired into England, and gave over his office of warden, or viceroy, John of Britain, Earl of Richmond, being sent into Scotland in his place.

King Robert, after this, past into the north, leaving Sir James Douglas on the borders, who, taking his own castle of Douglas by a stratagem, raz'd it to the ground, and in a few days chased all the English out of Douglas-dale, Ettrick forest, and Jedburgh forest, and took Sir Thomas Rannald the King's sister's son, (who had followed the English ever since his captivity,) and Sir Alexander Stewart of Bonkle. Sir Alexander and Simon Frazer, meeting King Robert in the north shewed him, how John Cumming Earl of Buchan, David Lord Brechin, Sir John Moubray, and the rest of the Cummin faction, were gathering an army against him.

Mean while, by the assistance of his friends in these quarters, on a sudden he surpriz'd the castle of Inveracess, the fame of which victory caused many other strengths to yield: all which he overthrew, and greatly increased the number of his friends. In his return, taking sickness at Inverary, Cumming set upon him. The King, after his friends had for a time defended him, recovering somewhat, went out to

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the field, and so hardly assaulted his enemy at Old Meldrum, that albeit their number was far greater, yet they took their flight. With the like success he set upon the King in Glenesk in Angus, where being shamefully put to flight, he fled into England, with Sir John Moubray, and died there shortly. Lord David Brechin fortified his own castle, but David Earl of Athol forced him to yield it and himself to the King. Mean time Philip Frazer took the castle of Forfar: and the King pursuing this victory, reduced all the north to his obedience; and joining with the Lord James Douglas, returning from the South with his two captives, he took St. Johnston by surprizal: from thence he passed into Lorn, the Lord whereof had ambushed two thousand men, on the side of a high steep hill, where the King behoved to enter through a narrow passage: But Sir James Douglas, with Sir Alexander Frazer, and Sir Andrew Gray, climbing the hill, came suddenly on their backs, and put them to flight. John of Lorn fled into England by sea: his father, Lord Alexander M'Dougal, yielded himself, and the castle of Dunstaffnage to the King.

By these means, all on the north side of Forth was reduced to obedience: Sir Edward, his brother, in the mean time, who by long and hard fighting, had conquered Galloway, James Douglas, by a stratagem, surprised the strong castle of Roxburgh on the Fastens-even, while all the garrison (after the custom of the time) were feasting and playing the riot. The report whereof, so whetted the valiant Thomas Randal, newly restored to his uncle's favour, and made Earl of Murray, that having besieged the castle of Edinburgh for some months, he set himself by all means to carry the same, which he obtained by a narrow passage up through the rock discovered by him; by which he and sundry stout gentlemen, secretly passed up, and scaling the wall, after long and dangerous fighting, made themselves masters of the place. The garrisons of Rutherglen, Lanerk, Dumfries, Ayr, Dundee, and Bute, hearing this, yielded up these castles, which were all razed. The Isle of Man, also returned to the obedience of the crown of Scotland. Sir Edward Bruce, having besieged Stirling castle three months, agreed with the captain, Sir Philip Moubray, that if the King of England did not rescue him within twelve months thereafter, the castle should be yielded to King Robert. Albeit this seemed a rash provocation of so mighty a King as Edward Longshanks; (but far degenerate from his valour,) having not only England and Ireland, and many Englished Scots, with the duchy of Guienne, Bourdeaux, and other parts of France subject to him, but also the low countries strictly confederate with him: yet King Robert prepared himself to encounter him in the fields, and gathered five and thirty thousand men,

few, but valiant. The king of England had above a hundred thousand foot, and ten thousand horse: with which multitude, intending to destroy the inhabitants of Scotland, and to divide the land to his followers, he came to Bannockburn, (two miles from Stirling,) where, on the 21st of June, 1314, he was encountered by the Scots, and after long and hard fighting, his great army put to the rout: himself with a small company, fleeing into Dumbarton, was sent by the Earl into England in a fisher-boat, leaving two hundred noblemen and gentlemen killed by the Scots, and as many taken: the number of the commons slain and taken was incredible. Of Scots were slain two gentlemen of note Sir William Wepont, and Sir Walter Ross, with four thousand common soldiers.

After this victory, Stirling being yielded, and Dumbarton gotten by composition, the Earl of March, the Lord Soules, and Abernethy, and others of the Cummings', allies, were reconciled to the King, who past into the Isles, and brought them to obedience, taking John of Lorn captive, who died in prison in Lochleven. Thus Scotland was freed of the bondage of England, except Berwick, which was recovered four years thereafter, 1318, and the Scots making divers incursions into England, under the leading of Earl Thomas Randal, and James Lord Douglas, requited the harms received from them before, and enriched themselves with their spoil.

As for the authority of these two histories although they possibly err in some circumstances of time, place, and number, or names of men, yet generally they write the truth of the story of those times, both at greater length, and upon more certain information, than those who have written our chronicles. So committing them to thy diligent perusal, (gentle and courteous reader,) I wish thee profit thereby, and all happiness from God. Farewel.

A short Account of the Battle of Bannockburn
which was fought June 24th, 1314.

EDWARD II. kept up the same claim on Scotland which his father had begun: and after several unsuccessful attempts to establish it, he resolved to make a great effort, and at once, reduce that turbulent nation, which had put so many signal affronts upon his father and himself.

In the spring, 1314, he assembled the most numerous army that had ever crossed the borders, composed of different nations, and amounting to above 100,000 effective men besides a huge multitude of attendants, who came along in hopes of sharing in the plunder of a conquered enemy. At the head of these he marched northward with an uncommon parade, and in full confidence of victory. Robert Bruce,

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the son of that Robert Bruce who held a conference with Wallace upon the banks of the Carron, and grandson of him who had been competitor with Baliol, had, in 1306, been crowned King of Scotland, and being informed of Edward's formidable preparations, he raised an army of 30,000 of his subjects to oppose him. This armament bore but a small proportion to that of Edward's; but it was composed of soldiers, who were hardened by long practice of war, and who now carried upon the point of the sword, liberty and honour, and every thing that was dear to them. With these Robert took up his station in the neighbourhood of Stirling, and waited for Edward's arrival. The two armies came in sight of each other in the month of June, and soon after, a bloody battle was fought, in which the Scots obtained a victory, the most celebrated of any in the annals of that kingdom. The procedure of that memorable event was as follows,

The English, marched from Edinburgh to Falkirk in one day, and upon the morrow setting out from thence towards Stirling, encamped to the northward of the Torwood. About upper Bannockburn, and backward upon the muir of Plean, in the neighbourhood of the ancient Roman causeway, pieces of broken pots, and other vessels have been found; and upon rocks near the surface, marks of fire have been discovered, where it is supposed the soldiers had made ready their provisions. Barbour, the author of King Robert Bruce's life, speaks as if their camp had stretched so far northward as to occupy a part of Carse ground; and so vast a multitude must doubtless have covered a large tract of country.

The Scottish army was posted about a mile to the northward, upon several eminences, south from the present village of St. Ninian's. Upon the summit of one of these eminences, now called Brock's bare, is a stone sunk into the earth, with a round hole in it, near three inches in diameter, and much the same in depth in which, according to tradition, King Robert's standard was fixed, the royal tent having been erected near it. This stone is well known in that neighbourhood by the name of the "Bore-stane." The small river of Bannockburn, remarkable for its steep and rugged banks, ran in a narrow valley between the two camps.

The castle of Stirling was still in the hands of the English. Edward Bruce, the King's brother, had in the spring of this year, laid siege to it, but found himself obliged to abandon the enterprize; only by a treaty between that prince and Moubray, the governor, it was agreed, that if the garrison received no relief from England before a year expired, they should surrender to the Scots. The day preceding the battle, a strong body of cavalry, to the number of 800, was detached from the English camp, under the conduct of

Lord Clifford, to the relief of that garrison. These, having marched through some hollow grounds upon the edge of the Carse, had passed the Scots army before they were observed. The King himself was the first that perceived them, and desiring Thomas Randolph, Earl of Murray, to look towards the place where they were, told him that a rose had fallen from his chaplet. Randolph, considering this as a reproach, because he had the charge of that part through which the English had marched, immediately set out after them with a party of 500 horse, and coming up with them in the plain where the small village of Newhouse now stands, a sharp action ensued, in sight of both armies and of the garrison of Stirling. It was fought with valour on both sides; and it was some time doubtful where victory would turn. King Robert, attended by some of his officers, beheld the encounter from a rising ground, supposed to be the round hill immediately upon the west of St. Ninian's, now called Cock-shot-hill. James Douglas, perceiving the distress of Randolph, who was greatly inferior to the enemy in numbers, asked leave to go to his support. This King Robert at first refused, but afterwards consenting, Douglas put his soldiers in motion; observing however, as he was on the way, that the victory was upon the point of being won without his assistance, he stopped short, that his friend might have the unrivalled glory of it. The English were entirely defeated, and many of them slain: and Randolph returned to the camp amidst acclamations of universal joy. To perpetuate the memory of this victory, two stones were reared up in the field, and are still to be seen there. They stand in a spot which has lately been inclosed for a garden, at the north end of the village of Newhouse, and about a quarter of a mile, from the borough port of Stirling.

This victory gave new spirits to the whole army, and made them so eager for the general engagement, that the night, tho' among the shortest of the year, seemed long to them. Edward too, exasperated at the defeat of his detachment, was determin'd to bring on the battle on the morrow. At length appeared the dawn of that important day, which was to decide, whether Scotland was henceforth to be an independant kingdom, or subject to a foreign yoke. Early all was in motion in both armies; religious sentiments were mingled with the military ardour of the Scots; a solemn mass, in the manner of these times, was said by the Abbot of Inchaffery, a monastery in Strathearn, who also administered the sacrament to the King and the great officers about him, while inferior priests did the same to the rest of the army. After this they formed in order of battle, in a track of ground called Nether-Touchadam, which lies along the declivity of a gentle rising hill: This situation had been previously chosen because of its advantages. Upon the right

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they had a range of steep rocks, now called Murray's Craig, and in their front were steep banks of the rivulet of Bannockburn. Not far behind them was a wood; some vestiges of which still remain. Upon the left was a morass, now called Milton bog, from its vicinity to a small village of that name: much of this bog is still undrained, and a part of it is at present a mill-dam. As it was then the middle of summer, it was almost quite dry. But King Robert had recourse to a stratagem, in order to prevent any attack from that quarter. He had ordered many ditches and pits to be digged in the morass, and stakes sharpened at both ends, to be driven unto them, and the whole to be covered over again with green turf, so that the ground had still the appearance of being firm. He also caused crow-feet, or sharp pointed irons to be scattered throughout the morass: some of which have been found there in the memory of people still living; the same manœuvres were likewise carried on for a little way along the front of the left wing; for there the banks, for about two hundred yards, being more flat than they are any where else, it was the only place where the enemy could pass the river in any sort of order. By means of these artificial improvements, joined to the natural strength of the ground, the Scotch army stood as within an intrenchment, and the invisible pits and ditches answered the concealed batteries of more modern times.

Amongst the other occurrences of this memorable day, historians mention an accident of a singular nature. As the two armies were about to engage. The Abbot of Inchaffery posting himself before the Scots, with a crucifix in his hand, they all fell down upon their knees in the act of devotion.—The enemy observing them in so uncommon a posture, concluded that they were frightened into submission, and that, by kneeling, when they should be ready to fight, they meant to surrender at discretion, and only to beg their lives; but they were soon undeceived, when they saw them rise again and stand to their arms with steady countenances.

The English began the action by a brisk charge upon the left wing of the Scots commanded by Randolph, near the spot where the bridge is now thrown over the river, at the small village of Charters-hall. Hereabout was the only place where the river could be crossed in any order. A large body of cavalry advanced to attack him in front, while another fetched a compass to fall upon his flank and rear, but before they could come to a close engagement, they fell into the snare that had been laid for them. Many of their horses were soon disabled by the sharp irons rushing into their feet, others tumbled into the concealed pits and could not disentangle themselves. Pieces of their harnessing, with bits of broken spears, and other armour, still continue to be dug up in the bog.

24 AN ACCOUNT OF THE, &c.

In the beginning of the engagement, an incident happened, which, though in itself of small moment, was rendered important by its consequences. King Robert was mounted on horseback, carrying a battle-ax in his hand, and upon his helmet he wore a high turban in the form of a crown, by way of distinction. This, together with his activity, rendered him very conspicuous as he rode before the lines. An English Knight, named Bohun, who was ranked among the bravest in King Edward's army, came galloping furiously up to him, in order to engage with him in single combat, expecting, by so eminent an act of chivalry, at once to put an end to the contest, and gain immortal renown to himself; but the enterprising champion having missed the first blow, was immediately struck dead with the battle-ax which the King carried in his hand. This was a sort of signal for the charge. So bold an attack upon their King filled the Scots with sentiments of revenge; and the heroic achievement performed by him before their eyes, raised their spirits to the highest pitch. They rushed furiously upon the enemy, who, having by this time passed the river in great numbers, gave them a warm reception.

A singular occurrence which some accounts represent as an accidental sally of patriotic enthusiasm, others as a premeditated stratagem of King Robert, suddenly altered the face of affairs, and contributed greatly to the victory: All the servants and attendants of the Scottish army, who are said to have amounted to 20,000, had been ordered before the battle to retire behind Murray's craig. But having during the engagement, arranged themselves in a martial form, they marched to the top of the hill, and displaying white sheets fixed upon poles, instead of banners, moved towards the field of battle with hideous shouts. The English, perceiving this motely crowd, and taking them for a fresh reinforcement advancing to support the Scots, were seized with so great a panic, that they began to give way in confusion. Buchanan says that the King of England was the first who fled; but in this he contradicts all other historians, who affirm that he was among the last in the field. The Scots pursued and great was the slaughter among the enemy, especially in passing the river, where they could keep no order, because of the irregularity of the ground. King Edward himself escaped with much difficulty, being closely pursued above 40 miles by Sir James Douglas, with a party of light horse: he was upon the point of being taken prisoner, when he was received into the castle of Dunbar by the Earl of March, who conveyed him to England by sea in a fisher's boat: His immense army being entirely discomfited. The Scots only lost 4000 men, while the loss of the English amounted to above 37,000.

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